

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 DHA-02 CU-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /087 W

-----035742 012254Z /64

O R 301515Z JUL 77 ZDK

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1795

INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5172

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN FOR POLAD

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, JULY 23-30

REF: BELGRADE 4974

SUMMARY: PREPARATORY MEETING HAS REACHED VIRTUAL AGREE-
MENT ON AGENDA AND MOST ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS. EXTENSIVE
COMPROMISE EFFORTS TO BRIDGE REMAINING DIFFERENCES--
WHICH CENTER ON AMOUNT OF TIME WORKING BODIES (COMMITTEES)
WILL HAVE AND DURATION OF MAIN MEETING ITSELF -- FAILED, HOW-
EVER, AND PREPARATORY MEETING WILL THEREFORE CONTINUE
INTO AUGUST. END SUMMARY.

1. NINE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) DELS (SWITZERLAND, AUSTRIA,
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SWEDEN, FINLAND, YUGOSLAVIA, MALTA, CYPRUS, SAN MARINO,
LIECHTENSTEIN) MADE WEEK'S FIRST EFFORT TO SOLVE REMAINING
PROBLEMS BY INTRODUCING AN INFORMAL NON-PAPER JULY 26.
THIS NON-PAPER CONTAINED MODIFICATIONS OF THEIR OWN PACKAGE
PROPOSAL OF JULY 14 AND WAS, GENERALLY SPEAKING, CLOSE TO
WESTERN POSITIONS ON MAJOR ISSUES OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
FOR WORKING BODIES AND DURATION BOTH OF WORKING BODIES

AND MAIN MEETING ITSELF. FOURTEEN DELS PARTICIPATED IN INFORMAL "CONTACT GROUP" WHICH MET FOR THREE DAYS TO DISCUSS NEW NNA NON-PAPER UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF SPANISH REP. CONTACT GROUP REACHED AGREEMENT ON MOST OUTSTANDING ISSUES BUT WAS UNABLE TO RESOLVE TWO KEY DURATION PROBLEMS IN POINT 13 OF ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION.

2. WESTERN, NNA AND ROMANIAN DELS WISHED TO INDICATE A TARGET DATE FOR COMPLETION OF WORKING BODIES BUT PROVIDE FLEXIBILITY THAT THEY COULD CONTINUE PAST THAT DATE IF NECESSARY. DRAFTING ISSUE CAME DOWN TO WHETHER THERE WOULD BE STATEMENT THAT WORKING BODIES "WILL ENDEAVOR", "WILL TRY", OR "SHOULD" COMPLETE THEIR WORK BY A FIXED DATE OR WHETHER THERE SHOULD B A FLAT STATEMENT THAT WORKING BODIES "WILL COMPLETE THEIR WORK" BY A FIXED DATE.

3. SECOND PROBLEM INVOLVED DURATION OF MAIN MEETING ITSELF. NNA PROPOSED TO GO TOWARD SOVIET DESIRE FOR FIXED TERMINATION DATE BY PROVIDING THAT IF DECEMBER 15 TARGET DATE WAS NOT MET, MEETING WOULD ADJOURN FOR A MONTH AND THEN RESUME "FOR UP TO ONE MONTH". NNA PROPOSED TO PROVIDE SOME FURTHER FLEXIBILITY, HOWEVER AND TO ENSURE THAT IN ANY EVENT MEETING WOULD NOT END WITHOUT CONSENSUS ON SOME CONCRETE RESULTS BY USE OF SO-CALLED NEGATIVE FORMULA THAT MEETING "WILL NOT END ITS WORK WITHOUT HAVING ADOPTED A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND WITHOUT HAVING FIXED CONFIDENTIAL

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THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT SIMILAR MEETING".

4. WHEN CONTACT GROUP DISSOLVED JULY 29, SPANISH REP PRESENTED PLENARY WITH COMPOSITE PAPER DESCRIBED AS PROPOSAL OF SPANISH DEL THAT CONTAINED BOTH POINTS AGREED IN CONTACT GROUP AND SPANISH REP'S SUGGESTIONS FOR RESOLVING POINT 13 PROBLEMS. HE SELECTED GUILLOTINE CUT-OFF FORMULA FOR WORKING BODIES (THOUGH PROVIDING THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO DECEMBER 9, A WEEK LATER THAN TARGET DATE PREVIOUSLY UNDER CONSIDERATION), AND A POSITIVE FORMULATION ON DURATION OF MAIN MEETING WHICH SOVIETS HAVE SAID THEY CAN ACCEPT: " THE MEETING WILL, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGENDA, END BY ADOPTING A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND BY FIXING THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT SIMILAR MEETING".

5. NNA DELS RELUCTANTLY URGED ACCEPTANCE OF SPANISH PROPOSAL THOUGH CONFESSNG THAT THEY WERE UNHAPPY WITH SEVERAL OF ITS KEY PROVISIONS. NUMBER OF ESTERN DELS, INCLUDING USDEL, AND ROMANIAN DEL INDICATED DESIRE TO IMPROVE FORMULATIONS ON DURATION BOTH OF WORKING BODIES AND MAIN MEETING, AND SOVIETS COUNTERED WITH CALL FOR ENDING WORKING BODIES AT LEAST TWO WEEKS (RATHER THAN ONE WEEK)

BEFORE DECEMBER 15 TARGET DATE FOR CLOSE OF MAIN MEETING.

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-----035815 012256Z /64

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 5172

USDEL INFORMALLY SUGGESTED FORMING A NEW INFORMAL CON-
TACT GROUP TO DISCUSS REMAINING DIFFERENCES JULY 30, BUT
SOVIETS INDICATED PREFERENCE TO WAIT UNTIL MONDAY, AUGUST 1.

6. COMMENT: PREPARATORY MEETING MADE FURTHER PROGRESS
THIS WEEK, BUT IT HAS NOW FAILED TO MEET ITS OWN UNDERSTOOD
TARGET DATE OF END OF JULY. AS POINTED OUT REFTTEL, THIS
WAS ALWAYS A TARGET DATE WITHOUT ANY STATUS, MADE UP AS MUCH
OF TRADITIONAL EUROPEAN HOLIDAY PATTERNS AS CONFERENCE
LOGIC. WE SPECULATED IN REFTTEL THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE
TEMPTED TO DRAG OUT NEGOTIATION IN HOPE THAT THEY WOULD
RECEIVE CONCESSIONS FROM DELS WHOSE LACK OF DESIRE TO SIT
IN BELGRADE IN AUGUST WAS COMPOSED IN PART OF CONCERN THAT
PROLONGED MEETING MIGHT BE DEEMED A NEGATIVE COMMENTARY ON
STATE OF DENTE ANDIN PART OF ENNUI. SOVIET REQUEST THAT
CONTACT GROUP NOT BE RESUMED UNTIL EARLY NEXT WEEK MAY BE
AS MUCH A CONFIRMATION OF THIS TACTIC AS OF ANY NEED TO
OBTAIN INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW OVER WEEKEND.

7 THE TWO MAIN POINTS STILL AT ISSUE ARE IMPORTANT. NEVER-
THE LESS, REGARDLESS OF HOW THEY ARE EVENTUALLY RESOLVED--
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BY A NEW COMPROMISE FORMULA OR BY DETERMINATION OF WHICH DELS HAVE BEST SITZFLEISCH -- POINTS ALREADY AGREED SUGGEST THAT MAIN MEETING CAN BE CONDUCTED ESSENTIALLY IN MANNER DESIRED BY WEST.

A) EACH OF THE THREE MAIN WORKING BODIES, WHETHER THEY ARE GIVEN A TARGET DATE OR A FIXED DATE FOR COMPLETION OF THEIR WORK, WOULD HAVE AT LEAST 7-9 WEEKS WITH FIVE SESSIONS EACH, AND WOULD BE MANDATED TO BEGIN DRAFTING ON NEW PROPOSALS AND THEIR REPORTS TO PLENARY ONLY AFTER COMPLETING AN ORDERLY AND THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, INCLUDING THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO STRUCTURE AND DWQUENCE OF THE FINAL ACT.

B) IF MORE TIME IS REQUIRED AFTER DECEMBER 15 TARGET DATE EITHER FOR DRAFTING OR FOR BRINGING UP MATTERS NOT SUFFICIENTLY DEALT WITH IN WORKING BODIES, IT APPEARS THAT THERE WILL BE AT LEAST ANOTHER MONTH FOR WORK TO BE DONE PRIMARILY IN PLENARY BUT ALSO IN MORE SPECIALIZED DRAFTING GROUPS THAT PLENARY MIGHT ESTABLISH. (SOVIETS HAVE ACCEPTED THIS LATTER POINT IN PRINCIPLE THOUGH THERE IS STILL DISAGREEMENT OVER WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE MORE THAN ONE SUCH SPECIAL DRAFTING GROUP; IF SO, THESE DRAFTING GROUPS MIGHT IN EFFECT BECOME CONTINUATION OF WORKING BODIES UNDER ANOTHER NAME).

C. REGARDLESS OF HOW MUCH FLEXIBILITY FOR ADDITIONAL TIME PAST MID-FEBRUARY MIGHT BE CONTAINED IN ULTIMATE FORMULATION FOR TERMINATION OF MAIN MEETING, EACH DEL WOULD HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE ITS OWN SUMMATION AND ANALYSIS IN PUBLIC CLOSING STATEMENT, AND SOVIETS HAVE ACCEPTED IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE THAT, AT THE LEAST, MEETING SHOULD SET DATE AND PLACE FOR A SUBSEQUENT BELGRADE-STYLE FOLLOW-UP MEETING.

8. FOR THESE REASONS, JUDGMENT AS TO WHETHER PRESENT, OR SLIGHTLY IMPORVED, FORMULATIONS ON WORKING BODIES AND DURATION ISSUES ARE ACCEPTABLE, ARE PRIMARILY POLITICAL
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JUDGEMENTS WHICH MUST BE WEIGHED AGAINST BROADER CONSIDERATION SUCH AS WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION, THE DESIRABILITY

OF CONTINUING THE PREPARATORY MEETING, AND OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIPS WITH OUR ALLIES AND THE SOVIETS.

9. WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO THE REMAINING ISSUES, AND TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT TIME PRESSURES. ULTIMATE RESOLUTION OF THESE ISSUES DEPENDS, HOWEVER, TO CONSIDERABLE EXTENT UPON REACTION OF OTHER WESTERN DELS AND NNA'S. THESE DELS CLEARLY PREFER WESTERN FORMULATIONS, BUT SOME ARE TEMPTED TO PUSH FOR QUICK RESOLUTION ON BASIS OF THE SPANISH PAPER, WHICH THEY SEE AS ENSURING FULL

OPPORTUNITY TO CONDUCT THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION
RECORD. THEIR CONCERN THAT CUT-OFF DATE FOR WORKING
BODIES AND VIRTUAL TERMINATION DATE IN MID-FEBRUARY MIGHT
IMPAIR PROSPECTS FOR FULL NEGOTIATION OF SOME OF THEIR
NEW PROPOSALS, HOWEVER, IS AT LEAST PARTIALLY TEMPERED BY
THEIR SATISFACTION THAT SOVIET COMMITMENT TO SET DATE AND
PLACE FOR FURTHER MEETING MEANS THAT CSCE PROCESS CAN BE
MAINTAINED AFTER BELGRADE. END COMMENT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, PLANNING MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 30-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BELGRA05172
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770275-0846
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977072/aaaaabeg.tel
Line Count: 233
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 80f60d64-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BELGRADE 4974
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1750715
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE: WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, JULY 23-30
TAGS: PARM, YO, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/80f60d64-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009